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THE OLD MILESTONES ABOUT PHILADELPHIA.[1]

Many of the old roads radiating from the city of Philadelphia are guarded by milestones of upwards of a century and a half of service. These silent sentinels have seen the conestoga wagons of the pioneers migrating toward the sunset; the pillion saddles and sedan chairs of the revolutionary period; the intercity stage-coaches that preceded the railroads; the trolley cars, bicycles, and automobiles of the present day; and one of them, perhaps the oldest of all, daily sees the mail-carrying aeroplane break its journey between the metropolis and the capital.

The critical date in milestone history is 1796, when the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, the first in America, was opened for traffic. In accordance with the stipulations of its charter, this company placed milestones for use in computing toll along its course. This provision was made in the charters of nearly all subsequent turnpike companies until 1859. These stones indicated the distance from the city limits, that being where the turnpike began, and so they can be distinguished from all earlier stones which measured from the old courthouse on Market Street between Front and Second Streets. Another point of difference is that the earlier stones were taken from local quarries, and in some instances were placed by private enterprise, so that they differ among themselves in size, shape, lettering, and material, while the turnpike stones are almost entirely of marble, a substance which came into use for the purpose with the turnpikes.

In this article the various roads will be considered in geographical order, taking up first those north of the city.

The Point-No-Point Road.

This is the old Shackamaxon road taken by William Penn and the Indians when they went out to the Elm tree to sign the treaty. It is now known as Richmond Avenue. There are two mile-

[1] In the preparation of this article acknowledgment of assistance is due to F. H. Shelton, F. Perry Powers, Anthony M. Hance, Dr. Herman Burgin, Chas. F. Jenkins, and John R. Davies.

stones on it, numbered 4 and 5. The first stands near the corner of Venango Street. During the revolution, two American officers, John Laurens and Charles Lee, fought a duel over language used by the latter in speaking of George Washington. Both parties expressed satisfaction with the result, but Alexander Hamilton, Laurens' second, felt called upon to explain how honor could be satisfied without any shedding of blood, and wrote a long account of the affair, in which he states that it took place in the woods near the fourth milestone on the Point-no-point road. It is gratifying to read that both parties behaved like gentlemen.

The stone is very roughly hewn, and so covered with soot that it is difficult to identify its material. It bears no legend other than the numeral.

The Bristol Road.

The Philadelphia, Bristol, and Morrisville Turnpike was opened in 1804. It began at Front Street and Germantown Road, then the city limits. The milestones now on the road measure from this point, and are typical turnpike stones of Pennsylvania marble. They are marked with the numeral and the letters M T arranged vertically. The M stands for miles, but the meaning of the T is obscure. These are not the original stones on this road, however. As early as 1764 the Philadelphia Contributionship[2] had erected a series of milestones on this same course, as described in the following minute of that organization:

May 16th 1764: Peter Reeve, Joseph Saunders, and Thomas Wharton, who were requested by the Board of Directors to apply the fines arising from non-attendance of the directors since the year 1761 in purchasing milestones, made the following report, viz:

"We the Subscribers beg leave to Report to the Directors of the Fire Insurance Office, that, agreeable to their Request 'that we would procure a sufficient Number of Milestones and fix them on the Road leading to Trenton Ferry and apply to such persons as would be capable of Measuring the Distance and placing them properly,' That you would pay the Cost and expense thereof out of the Fines that were paid by the Directors for Non Attendance since the year 1761.

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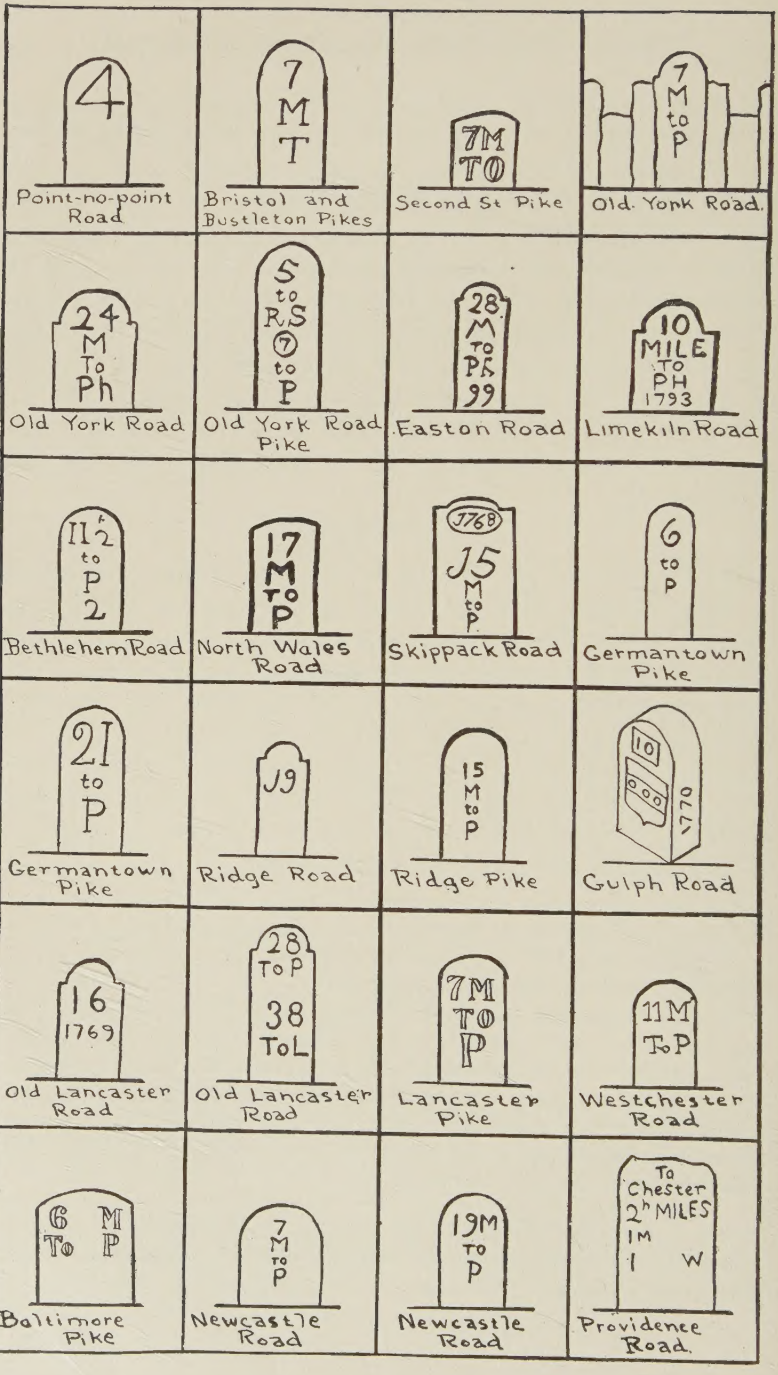
[2] This is the oldest fire insurance company in the world. Its insignia bears four hands, each clasping the next by the wrist, whence the popular name, "The Hand in Hand."


4
Point-no-point Road
7 M T
Bristol and Bustleton Pikes
7M TO
Second St Pike
7 M to P
Old York Road.
24 M To Ph
Old York Road
5 to R S 7 to P
Old York Road Pike
28 M to PA 99
Easton Road
10 MILE TO PH 1793
Limekiln Road
11½ to P 2
Bethlehem Road
17 M to P
North Wales Road
1768
15 M to P
Skippack Road
6 to P
Germantown Pike
21 to P
Germantown Pike
J9
Ridge Road
15 M to P
Ridge Pike
10
1770
Gulph Road
16 1769
Old Lancaster Road
28 To P 38 To L
Old Lancaster Road
7M TO P
Lancaster Pike
11M To P
Westchester Road
6 M To P
Baltimore Pike
7 M to P
Newcastle Road
19M to P
Newcastle Road
To Chester 2h MILES 1M 1 W
Providence Road.

"We procured the Stones, and apply'd to John Lukins, Surveyor General, Philip Syng, Jacob Lewis, and Thomas Gordon, Gentn. to join us in measuring the Distance from Philadelphia, to the Edge of the River at the Ferry leading to Trenton, who Cheerfully undertook the Serving, and on the 15th Instant at 5 o Clo. in the Morning we began to Measure from the Middle of Market Street in Front Street, and at the Distance of each Mile, affix'd or planted a Stone marked with the proper Characters to describe the Distance from this City, and when arrived at the Ferry found it to be 29 Miles & 24 Chains to the edge of the River, having passed thro' the New Road leading thro' Pennsburg Manner, as it is the most direct and likely to be used, the distance being short'ned more than One mile.

"The cost of the Stones, with the expence attending the planting them amounts to Thirty three ponds Seven shillings, and five pence, We having purchased two More Stones than was necessary, being numb. 30 & 31 Gave them to Nathl. Parker who promised to fix them on the Road leading to New York."

These old stones have all disappeared. One formerly stood at 943 North Front Street, and read, "1 M to P."[3] The two in Trenton were removed when the street was widened, and the rest were doubtless thrown out by the turnpike company when the later stones were placed.

The founder and leading spirit of the Contributionship was Benjamin Franklin. In 1767 he visited New England and while there stones were placed on the old Post Road leading from Boston into Connecticut. Local tradition connects Franklin's name with these milestones and also states that it was his intention to erect stones all the way to Charleston, S. C. In an effort to run out this tradition several years ago Mr. F. Perry Powers visited several libraries in New England but was unable to uncover any documentary evidence in support of it.

The Bustleton Road.

This road branches off of the left side of the Bristol Road at Frankford, above the five-milestone of the pike series on the latter. The Bustleton and Smithfield Turnpike was incorporated at about the same time as the Bristol Pike with the same Board of Directors. The stones on this road are essentially the same as

[3] Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia,* Vol. III.

those on the Bristol Pike even to the M T after the numeral. Clearly the T cannot be the initial of the starting point, as both sets of stones have it and the two pikes start more than five miles apart. The numerals on the Bustleton Pike stones indicate the distance to Frankford. Probably it stands for Terminus or Turnpike.

Like the Bristol Road, the Bustleton Road also had a set of milestones antedating the turnpike. These were erected by Lawrence Growden on the road from Philadelphia to his country estate "Trevose" at Byberry.[4] The first Lawrence Growden came to Pennsylvania at a very early period and settled at Byberry, which is older than Philadelphia. The estate descended to the oldest son, and was purchased in 1731 by the second Lawrence Growden at a sheriff's sale. In 1732 he was appointed by the Penn estate to be one of the commissioners to run the Maryland boundary. Later in life he wrote an exhaustive exegetical treatise on the Book of Revelation. He died at Trevose in 1770. The time when the stones were planted cannot be fixed with any certainty. Three of them are still standing, owing to the fact that the pike does not follow the line of the old road beyond Bustleton, but turns to the west by way of Somerton, while the old road follows the Bensalem Pike to Byberry. The thirteenth stone stood at the corner of Red Lion Road, but has recently been broken off by an auto-truck. The fragment inscribed "13 M to P" is propped up against a telephone pole. Some public-spirited organization ought to have it set in a concrete base in place, as it is probably the oldest milestone about Philadelphia.

The Oxford Road.

A short distance west of Frankford is Trinity Church, Oxford, with perhaps the most turbulent history of any house of worship in the state. Originally an Orthodox Friends' Meeting house it became involved in the Keithian schism and withdrew from the Yearly Meeting. But when George Keith returned from England as an ordained clergyman to found Christ Church his con-

[4] Martindale's *History of Byberry and Moreland Townships.*

gregation could follow him no further and became a separate body calling themselves Christian Quakers and Friends.[5] Subsequently they became associated with the Seventh Day Baptists, the descendants of the Pietists of the Wissahickon. In about 1720 a lawsuit awarded the property to the Episcopal Church and the Baptists withdrew to found the Cloister at Ephrata.[6]

The Oxford Road, from Frankford to Fox Chase, runs in front of the old church. On John Hill's circular map of ten miles radius about Philadelphia two stones numbered 7 and 8 are shown on this road, above and below the church. They indicate the distance from Market Street. No stones of this series are now standing as far as I know.

The Second Street Pike.

The road past the back of Oxford Church was originally known as Rising Sun Lane, later as the Oxford and Fox Chase Turnpike, and the Second Street Pike. It and the Oxford Road come together just above the church. There is only one stone on it so far as I know, south of Fox Chase, that reads "7 M TO" the rest of the inscription being below ground. It is of no special interest, as the pike is of a very late date.

The Old York Road.

The first mention of milestones on the York Road occurs in an order given by General Washington at Pennypacker's Mills[7] to General Smallwood at Whitemarsh on the eve of the Battle of Germantown. The latter was instructed to leave Whitemarsh Church by the "left hand road[8] which leads to Jenkins tavern on the Old York Road below Armitage's, beyond the 7 milestone, half a mile from which a road turns off short to the right hand fenced on both sides, which leads through the enemy's encampment to Germantown Market House."[9]

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[5] A. C. Thomas' *History of Friends in America*, 1905, p. 98.

[6] Dr. Julius Sachse's *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania.*

[7] Schwenksville.

[8] The Church Road. St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh, originated as a mission of Trinity Church, Oxford, and the rector opened this road for communication between his charges.

[9] *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 376.

This seven-milestone is still standing on the Old York Road in the parapet of a stone bridge between the three- and four-milestones of the present turnpike series. The Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike was incorporated in 1803. It began at Rising Sun, which is something over three miles from Market Street. The stones are marked with two sets of distances, *e. g.*, "4 to RS 6 to P." Some distance north of the Neshaminy are three stones marked 23, 24, and 25 M to Ph. These may belong to the original set, though they differ in size and material from the seven-milestone described above. They have rounded tops, but the radius of the curve is so short in proportion to the width of the stone that a square shoulder subtends each extremity of the curve. This pattern is characteristic of several series erected about 1769.

The Philadelphia and Easton Road.

This important tributary of the Old York Road runs from Willow Grove to Easton by way of Doylestown. The milestones on the lower half have been obliterated by the Doylestown Pike, and the stones of the pike company have been disturbed by the traction company. But above Dolyestown some of the old stones are still standing, one of which near Danboro reads "28 M to P 99" the last two figures indicating the year 1799.

The Limekiln Road.

This road runs from the Old York Road near the three-milestone on the latter to Chalfont via Glenside. The only milestone on it I know of is at the corner of Church Road near Wyncote and it reads "10 MILE TO PH 1793." The pike dates from about 1850.

The Germantown Road.

Even apart from its revolutionary associations the Germantown Road will always be one of the historic highways of America. The home of Gilbert Stuart—the house where Louisa May Alcott was born—the place where Germantown wagons were first made —the home of Christopher Sauer the printer who cast his own

type and printed the first Bible in America—the studio of Thomas Hovenden—the house where David Rittenhouse and Benjamin Franklin observed the transit of Venus in 1769—the Norriton Church built in 1698 and therefore the second oldest house of worship in the state—Methacten Meeting house with the grave of the younger Christopher Sower, the conscientious objector who was abducted by revolutionary soldiers and marched from Germantown to Valley Forge in his night clothes before breakfast—all these contribute to the interest of the road.[10]

The milestones begin with 5, east of Chelten Avenue, and end with 24 at the Perkiomen. All are in place but the 11th, they were placed in 1801 by the Germantown and Perkiomen Turnpike Company, which began at Third and Vine Streets and ran north on Third to Germantown Road. In 1840 the city annexed considerable territory north of Vine Street which had previously been the boundary, and the stones were recut to read one mile less. In John Melish's map of 1817 the stones are shown in their present position but the present 5 is called 6, and the present 24 is marked 25. For no apparent reason the stones up to and including 10 differ in lettering from those from 12 on. Both have the numeral and "to P" but the western ones are much more ornamental and the figures are larger.

But before the turnpike there were other stones on this course. The act of incorporation refers to the ten-milestone on Chestnut Hill. This is just ten miles from the courthouse, which is half a mile south of Vine Street. Chestnut Hill is half way between the present eight- and nine-milestones. The earlier stones are mentioned by several writers,[11] but there is no trace of what they were like.

The Bethlehem Road.

The name Bethlehem Pike is a misnomer, as there never was a turnpike company operating over the entire distance between Philadelphia and Bethlehem. Beyond Chestnut Hill the Chestnut Hill and Springhouse Turnpike Company covered the first eight

[10] John T. Faris' *Old Roads Leading out of Philadelphia.*

[11] General Wilkinson's *Memoirs.* Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History.*

miles or so, and then other short pikes were linked together the rest of the way. The stones of the Springhouse pike are of marble with two distances indicated. The first stone reads " 10½ M to P 1 to C.H." The second distance is underground on most stones. The distance to Philadelphia is to Vine Street, which indicates that the pike was incorporated prior to the recutting of the Germantown Pike stones.

There is one odd stone on the Bethlehem Road south of Ambler that differs from all stones so far considered in being red sandstone and in the use of J for 1. Thus it reads " J768. J5 M to P." This distance is from the courthouse and this stone may be one of the original Germantown Road stones.

There are other turnpike stones north of Springhouse.

The North Wales Road.

The first three stones on the road form Springhouse to North Wales are numbered 17, 18, and 19. They measure the distance from the point that the Germantown Pike stones do, indicating that this pike dates from not earlier than 1840. The fact that the three stones show no resemblance whatever to each other seems to indicate that the Springhouse and Sumneytown Pike set whatever old stones were available instead of making new ones. The 19 is of the square shoulder pattern already mentioned and the 18 is similar to the J stone at Ambler. In a revolutionary document an American officer states that after the Battle of Germantown some of the wounded were taken to an improvised hospital in the Friends' Meeting House near the 20th milestone on the North Wales Road.[12] The records of Gwynedd Meeting show that the building used for this purpose stood at the same point as the present Meeting house, which is near the 18 stone, which fact implies that the 18 stone does not occupy its original position.

The Skippack Road.

This road was opened in 1714 from Whitemarsh to Pennypacker's Mills by an ancestor of the late ex-governor. It was

[12] Anthony M. Hance's *Historic Whitemarsh.*

subsequently extended to Boyertown and Reading, and a branch from Skippack northward was later added, which became the main road from Philadelphia to New York and New England. Shortly west of Broad Axe is an old tombstone in a corn field erected to the memory of Ann Bate who died in 1715. The stone is ornamented with the head and wings of an angel, and a long piece of versification has been nearly obliterated by time. There are no other graves near, and one is at a loss to understand how this one came to be where it is.

The stones on this road begin with 15. They are of red sandstone and have the J for 1. Three of them are dated—the 15th 1768, the 27th north of Skippack 1769, and the 34th west of the Perkiomen 177, the last figure being broken off. The 18th was formerly marked 81, and a recent recutting has obliterated the J. The 21st is marked "2J M to P" consistently with others of the set.

For one day after the evacuation of Philadelphia, Pennypacker's Mills was the capital of the United States. Washington's Headquarters were in the old Pennypacker homestead, now nearly 200 years old. It was over the Skippack Road that the Continental army marched on its way to Germantown.

The Ridge Road.

On August 12th, 1768, Jacob Hiltzheimer wrote in his diary:

"Went up the Wissahockon Road to set milestones. Dined at Leberon's with Hugh Roberts, Pearson Smith, Edward Milner, and John Lukens, Sr. and afterwards, a little beyond his home, we placed the XIII stone."

About a decade later Lafayette marched past this stone on his way from Swedesford to reinforce the American army near Germantown.[13] A map made by his engineers shows the 11th stone in place just south of St. Peter's Church, Barren Hill. In 1811 these stones were taken up by the Ridge Turnpike Company and a new set, measuring from the city limits at 9th and Vine Streets set up. The pike company, however, seems to have salvaged as

[13] Charlemagne Tower's *The Marquis Lafayette in the American Revolution.*

many as possible of the old stones and set them in new positions, as there are two distinct types on this course. For instance, the 11th stone mentioned above is now north of the church, is of sandstone, square shoulder pattern, marked with numerals but no further legend. The 12th stone is a typical turnpike stone of marble with round top and square edges, and reads "12 M to P." All of the sandstones have been whitewashed and the inscription repainted.

The Ridge Road and the Germantown Road come together east of the Perkiomen. At this point there is a stone on the Ridge Road marked "23½ to P." It does not belong to either Ridge Road type. It resembles the Germantown Pike stones but can not belong to that series as the 24th stone of the Germantown Pike is across the road. It was probably placed by that pike to make it clear that the 24 stone refers to the Germantown route.

The Gulph Road.

The Gulph Road is the oldest road between Philadelphia and Lancaster still open throughout its entire course. Leaving the Old Lancaster Road just west of the eighth milestone, it follows the general course of Mill Creek past the mill of John Roberts, whose convictions concerning warfare cost him his life during the revolution. Beyond is Harriton, built in 1704, where Charles Thomson, first congressional secretary, made the first complete English translation of the Greek Septuagint. Thence it runs to the Gulph, crossing the longest diabase dyke in the world, according to Dr. Henry Carvill Lewis, and by way of Valley Forge to Moore Hall,[14] where it divides, one fork going to Potts' Grove and Reading, the other to Lancaster via French Creek Falls.

The old iron foundry at Coventry was at one time operated by Mordecai Lincoln, great-grandfather of the president, and many revolutionary cannon were cast here. Anyone who has ever driven through a triassic shale road axle-deep with chocolate colored mud can perhaps appreciate the experience of the double-spanned teams that dragged these armaments over the Gulph Road to Philadelphia before the days of McAdam and Telford.

[14] Phoenixville.

The stones on this road are of great interest. They are roughly hewn out of a fine-grained gneiss of dark color, not dressed at all except that some have a square panel out in the face to receive the numeral. The characteristic feature of these stones is on the back, where the shield and three balls of the Penn Arms is engraved. The first one is the 9, and being a mile from the 8 on the Old Lancaster Road they continue that run. The last is the 18, beyond the King of Prussia.

The Old Lancaster Road.

In William Penn's correspondence he states his intention to build a city on the Susquehanna "in the most convenient place for communication with the plantations on the east, which by land is as good as done already."[15] He probably referred to the Great Conestoga Road, whose western terminus was Pequea, the first settlement by Europeans on the Susquehanna. Lancaster was not yet founded.[16]

The course of this old road cannot now be identified, but it probably included part of the Old Lancaster Road, opened in 1744, which can still be traced except for a few stretches abandoned or obliterated by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The first milestone now standing is the 6 at Wynnefield Avenue and 54th Street, which bears a plate stating that it marks the course of the Blockley and Merion Turnpike opened in 1690. This is very misleading as there were no turnpikes in America prior to 1796. There can be no doubt that the road is a very old one, as along its course are the homesteads of the Wynne and Owen families dating from 1690 and 1695; Merion Meeting, the oldest house of worship in the state, 1695; the second oldest hotel in the state, the General Wayne, 1704; the Buck Inn, 1735; and Radnor Meeting, 1718. But the milestones belong to a later date. The 16th near Strafford is dated 1769. These stones are of the square shoulder pattern like those on the Ridge Road, the Skippack Road, and the Bethlehem Road, and being placed at the same time were probably the work of the same agency.

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[15] Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania.*

[16] Charles I. Landis' *The First Long Turnpike in America.*

The Lancaster Turnpike.

The first turnpike in America was opened in 1796 between Philadelphia and Lancaster. The former was the largest city in America at that time and the latter was the largest inland town. All traffic from the west came either by the Great Lakes or the Ohio River, and then by portages to the Susquehanna, being concentrated in Lancaster County. In addition all traffic from the south came through Lancaster, as there was no bridge or ferry south of the county. When Elizabeth Drinker went to Virginia to see her husband, exiled because a conscientious objector, she went by way of Lancaster, as did Dr. Schoepf, in his "Travels Through the Confederacy." But this was before the turnpike was built. Shortly after it was incorporated the yellow fever epidemic broke out and New York surpassed Philadelphia in population, and the opening of the Erie Canal permanently diverted western traffic from Philadelphia.

The milestones are of carefully dressed marble, and set the fashion for the stones of all subsequent pikes. They measure from the Market Street bridge, which accounts for the 14th stone of this series being west of the 16th stone of the Old Lancaster Road.

The Old Haverford Road.

The Haverford Road was opened at a very early date. It began at about 20th and Vine Streets and ran in a northwesterly direction to the Schuylkill, which it crossed on the first suspension bridge in the United States. Just outside of the city limits is a large rock from which Rebecca Wood is said to have mounted William Penn's horse when he gave her a lift on the way to Haverford Meeting. The Pont Reading house of uncertain date, and the Llewellyn house, known as Castle Br'th where William Penn was seen at prayer[17] and whose date stone announces that it was built in 1699, testify to age of this road. There was formerly a stone since removed to the Haverford Campus nearby that read "MD LL 1683." The letters stand for Morris and

[17] Philip C. Garrett's *History of Haverford College.*

David Llewellyn, the former being William Penn's Deputy Surveyor.[18]

The milestones on this road have been hit pretty hard by the souvenir hunter. One is in the basement of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one is underground owing to a change in grading, two adorn private lawns, and only three remain on the road. One of these is on Haverford College property. These stones are similar to the Gulph Road stones in bearing the insignia of the Penn family.

The origin of these stones is wrapped in mystery. Watson, the annalist, assigns them to the Mutual Assurance Company. But that company was not founded until 1784,[19] while one of the Gulph stones is dated 1770. Circumstantial evidence would involve them with the boundary stones between the domains of Penn and Lord Baltimore, for the stones marking the western boundary of Delaware are almost identical. They were placed by Mason and Dixon in 1765. The stones on the southern boundary of Pennsylvania are altogether different.

The Haverford and Darby Road.

This road is also known as the Coopertown Road. There is only one milestone on it, and that one is west of Grassland. It is one of the Penn Arm stones, numbered 10, and stands just one mile west of the number 9 on the Haverford Road, so it must be considered a tributary of that system. The road between the two runs past the old Haverford Meeting house built in 1700, the second oldest Friends Meeting house in the state, but the road is perhaps even older, and may have been originally laid out by the Dutch East India Company.

The Philadelphia and Strasburg Road.

This road dates from about 1770, but its original course is hard to trace. Following the course of the present Westchester Pike to the vicinity of Darby Creek, it made its way via the grounds

[18] Thomas Allen Glenn's *Merion in the Welsh Tract.*

[19] The Contributionship did not insure houses with trees. Hence the later company was organized for the purpose and adopted a tree for its insignia.

of the Radnor Hunt Club to Old Newtown Square, where William Penn intended to build the first town west of Philadelphia. The Meeting House at this point was built in 1711. Thence it made its way via the Boot and Downingtown to the Gap and Strasburg. Subsequently it was rerouted to pass through Westchester, and still later Castle Rock, the scene of the capture of James Fitzpatrick, the original of Sandy Flash in Bayard Taylor's "Story of Kennett."

The Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1848 and never extended west of Newtown Square. The stones were standing in 1807 according to Hill's map already quoted, and in their present position, which is somewhat remarkable as they measure from 32d street, where the turnpike began forty years later. They extend well beyond Westchester, and probably all the way to Strasburg. They are of Leiperville granite.

The Garrett Road.

There was formerly a six-milestone on this road near Garrettford. The distance would apply to 32d street. It is said that this stone was placed by Dr. Joshua Ash, who surveyed Delaware County in 1865, pushing his surveying outfit ahead of him in a wheelbarrow as he worked. His map has been the basis of all maps made since, but there is no apparent reason why he should be connected with this stone.

The Baltimore Pike.

The Philadelphia, Brandywine, and New London Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1811 to operate on this road, but it never materialized and no toll gates or milestones were ever set up.[20] The only stone on the course is at Clifton, east of the tracks, and reads "6 M TO P." As it is not shown on Ash's map, and as Dr. Ash was a most painstaking man, the inference is that it was erected since 1865.

[20] F. H. Shelton in the *Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science,* 1915.

The Road to Newcastle.

This is the oldest road leading out of the city in any direction. It was used by the Swedes in going from their capital at Christina[21] to the settlements at Tinicum and Weccacoe. The oldest city in the state, Chester, is on its course. Yet there was never a turnpike on it until after the date when turnpikes stopped setting milestones. There is a minute of the Contributionship referring to the setting up of stones on this road, but apparently the stones now on the road belong to another series. They measure from the courthouse, but only a few are standing. The seven-milestone in Colwyn is altogether different from the rest and may be an interpolation. The 9th and 15th (the latter in front of the town hall in Chester, which is the oldest municipal building in the United States) are against stone walls, the 16th is without, and the 19th and 20th in Marcus Hook, with the Penn Arms. All have "M to P" after the numerals. The 21st has been broken off, but the stump still stands near Claymont, and the rest of the stones to the south have been replaced by modern ones.

The Providence Road.

The milestones on this road do not properly belong to this article as they measure the distance not from Philadelphia but from Chester. Their great age makes them of interest however. Of the original five, the first and third have disappeared, the third being replaced. But the other three are standing and display great originality. The most interesting is the fifth in front of Providence Meeting, Media, for it bears the date 1705. If this is correct, and there seems to be no good reason why it is not, this is the oldest milestone in the United States. There is one near Boston dated 1706. The Providence road was laid out in 1684 by five commissioners who met at the home of Thomas Nossiter, and as the stone bears the initials T N as well as the date and the numeral, the proof of its age seems to me at least to be conclusive, although there are some who think that the top of the stone is broken off and the date should read 1765. This would leave no satisfactory explanation of the initials.

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[21] Wilmington.

With these we shall take leave of the milestones, at least for the present. There is still much room for investigation, however, and I will always be interested to hear anything from those to whom the subject may appeal. If this article shall have been instrumental in preserving any of these links with the past, I shall consider my object fully attained.

Joshua L. Baily, Jr.

2650 Second Street, San Diego, Calif. 8. 17. 19.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF QUAKERISM.[1]

"The present volume is a sequel to *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* published in 1912, and completes, after fourteen years, my contribution to the History of Quakerism projected by my friend, the late John Wilhelm Rowntree." Such are the opening words of William C. Braithwaite in the Preface to his new work, *The Second Period of Quakerism.* This work is of the same scholarly, thorough character as the one which preceded it, and all students of Quaker History owe an inestimable debt of gratitude to the author. The book is simply indispensable for the right study and clear understanding of the Quaker movement, and is not likely ever to be superseded any more than Sewel's and Besse's great works.

The period covered, 1660–1725, has never been adequately treated before, and a flood of light is now thrown on this difficult period—difficult to any church body—the period of organization. It has not the spirit of adventure, so conspicuous in the early days, nor that abandon characteristic of earnest reformers in a comparatively new field; moreover, "outward organization tends to lessen inward inspiration"; therefore, from many points of view such a period lacks a compelling interest. Notwithstanding this, the author has given us a remarkably interesting work, and has successfully piloted his way through many

[1] *The Second Period of Quakerism,* by William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. With Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. Macmillan and Co., Limited, London. 5½ × 8½ in., pp. xlvii, 668. 15s. $5.50.

shoals, past many rocks and distracting eddies. George Fox as an organizer is clearly set forth and his work wisely estimated.

There is not space to dwell on special topics, but nowhere is there a clearer statement of the persecutions or a fairer judgment regarding them (chapters II–IV). The chapter on "Education and the Ministry" (XIX) is illuminating and dissipates much that was misty and cloudy; "The Quaker Way of Life" (XVIII) throws much light on social life and the question of "plain dress." Perhaps as fresh to most readers as anything in the book will be the careful study (pages 571–594) of John Bellers (1654–1725), "by far the greatest of the early Quaker Social Reformers." But no subject of importance is overlooked. Like the former volume, the style is excellent, rising at times into eloquence and beauty. The concluding chapter is specially so marked. Take one of the closing paragraphs:

"Days of fresh daring and dedication are before us, in which, with Dewsbury, we may glad our hearts in the unlimited power of God; and, with Fox, know all things new; and the creation giving us another smell than before, beyond what words can utter. Then will walls of partition crumble down and no longer hold us from wider fellowships and our rekindled mission. We shall welcome poverty and the scorn of the world, if they bring us nearer to our fellow-men and the heart of the Divine purpose. Our social service will be given alongside the needs of humanity; and we shall think first not of self nor of our Society but of the Kingdom and its righteousness. We shall find in every face some feature of the Divine love, and in the lowliest service some sacrament of grace. The radiant joy of our worship will overflow into the manifold tasks of the day's work and will turn each fresh duty laid upon us into a glad adventure. Our Captain will take us through uncharted seas in the service of His Kingdom; but as the Church trusts her helm to Him she will hold a true course and outride every storm." (Pages 645, 646.)

The "Introduction" by Rufus M. Jones deserves, says William C. Braithwaite in the Preface, "close study in amplification of some of my later chapters." No doubt some readers will be inclined to dissent from the analysis of Robert Barclay and his "Apology" which is given both in the "Introduction" and in the book itself. But those familiar with the theology of Barclay's day, know how greatly Barclay was influenced by his theological training, and that the "Apology" itself, closely following the line

of thought of the Westminster Confession and the Shorter Catechism, is an attempt to express Quaker tenets in the theological language and form of the time, and to show that they were in accord with the essentials of the Christian faith. At the same time Barclay could not escape from his early Calvinistic training in regard to "the innate depravity of human nature," and this dogma is continually appearing or is seen in the background. Yet Barclay firmly holds "the conviction, grounded in his own living experience, of the inwardness of religion as the power of a universal and saving Divine life incarnated in Jesus, but, in a measure, a living gift of God seeking out all men." "The permanent value of the 'Apology,'" says William Braithwaite, "lies . . . in the sureness of emphasis with which . . . he is continually asserting that religion is an inward spiritual life received from God and transforming human nature" (page 388).

The "Apology" becoming in later years a great authority on matters of Quaker doctrine, even to the partial displacement of Fox himself, this dualism of statement, mentioned above, led to much misunderstanding and subsequent trouble. The teaching of the book so exalted Quietism that it was one of the causes why the Friends lost their early spirit of adventure and outreaching and became that isolated body whose main concern seemed to be the conservation of "our testimonies," not realizing that while the one was rightly done, the other should not have been left undone.

Too often, Friends, as well as others, have failed to recognize that while truth is unchangeable the method of presenting truth changes with changed conditions. Men will no longer bear with two and three hour sermons which their forefathers delighted in. The elaborate treatises which the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries enjoyed are forgotten now except by students, and the polemic discourses of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries stand untouched upon the shelves of the great libraries. So with much of the Quaker literature of the early days. In one collection of seventeenth century tracts numbering about 1500 separate titles, scarcely twenty-five are known even by name to the Quaker of to-day. So Barclay's "Catechism" and "Apol-

ogy," John Crook's "Truths' Principles," Bates's "Doctrines," Evans's "Exposition," and Gurney's "Observations," valuable as they were in their time, do not reach the seeker of to-day. Twentieth century men and women seek twentieth century presentation.[2] That this is true, one need only consult the lists of Quaker booksellers. More fresh and able presentations of Quaker teaching have appeared during the past twenty years than in the previous seventy-five or possibly a hundred. The Series, of which the volume under review is one, is itself a testimony to this fact. May all new works be as faithful to the essentials of Quakerism as this.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF MARGARET MORRIS OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY. II.

Dec. 19, 1776. A man was met on the road, with a white rag tied to a stick, supposed to represent a flag, but whence he came or where he was going, the wisest head on the bank (J. V.)[21] cannot conjecture. A report prevails that General Putnam with 1000 men are on their march—this puts all into motion at Holly. The Hessians retire to the Black Horse. Not one gondola man ashore all this day; we may burn a candle all night and sleep secure. This evening received a letter from Dr. C. M.[22] inviting me to move into his neighborhood, but my mind is easiest while I conclude to abide where Providence has cast my lot—He has preserved us in great dangers, and I dare not distrust his future care. A letter from the brother[23] and friend of my heart, gives me hope of his return; his advice must determine my future movements, if I remove, a friend in need is a friend indeed.

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[2] These facts are also illustrated by the periodic revisions of Yearly Meeting Disciplines. In no case have the fundamentals been altered; changes and additions have been almost if not always those of clearer statement, additional aspects, and in practice better adapted to changed conditions.

[21] James Veree.

[22] Charles Moore.

[23] George Dillwyn, the husband of her sister Sarah; he was in England.

Dec. 20. A snow-storm last night has almost stopped the navigation, and sent our guarda-costas out of sight down the river; surely this will be a quiet day—methinks I will call for my work-basket, and set myself to sewing—but hark! a rap at the door—that face (J. V.) is full of intelligence. "Well, what news, neighbor?" "Oh, bless me! great news indeed! why, ha'nt you heard it?" "No, we have seen nobody from town to-day; do tell us." "Why the Hessians are actually just here; Master P., W. D., &c., &c., are all gone out to see what they can do." "Well! and will they bring them all into town? I'm sure we are but poorly provided for just now for a great deal of company." J. V. still goes on—"Oh! Ah! you will have enough of them; I expect to have my house full! I saw a man from Holly, yesterday, who says he saw fifty of the light-horse, all very fine English horses—oh, it was a terrible sight to see how they all foamed at the mouth and pranced—and fifty Hessians all quartered at Holly; but Putnam is surely coming with 1500 men." "Well, but neighbor, I should suppose it was a very fine sight to see so many fine horses together, and prancing." "Oh no, bless my spirits! it is a terrible sight to see how they foamed at the mouth!" "Well, we shall hear by and by what the ambassadors have done—I hope they won't come in to-night with the Hessians, for I am quite unprovided to entertain company." (Observe, Patty, it was I that was in such a fidget and not provided for company.) "Whip the fellows, I got supper enough for twenty of them the first night of the alarm, and I'm resolved I'll trouble myself no more about them till I see some of them in earnest." 17 Hessians in town to-day, and we were told the Recorder was desired to prepare a dinner for about 5000 men; a friend from town called in about 4 o'clock, and told us they were all a-coming. We asked if he had seen them? no! but he heard they were just here. We asked him how we, at this distance from town, should know of their coming; they might pop upon us here, and scare us out of our wits, as we had no man in the house. He said, "Oh, you will know of it fast enough, I warrant—why the noise of the cannon and the wagons will be heard at a great distance, and I advise you to make good use of your time till they do come, and

put all things of gold and silver out of their way, and linen too, or you will lose it." I said they pillaged none but rebels, and we were not such; we had had taken no part against them, &c. But that signified nothing; we should lose all, &c. After he was gone, my S. D.[24] and myself asked each other why it was that all these stories did not put us into a fright; we were not even discomposed; surely it is a favor never to be forgotten. We concluded to sit up a little later than usual to-night, but no rattling could we hear. Ambassadors returned—a report that the Congress dollars will be allowed to circulate for a certain number of years—a battery talked of, to be raised at the point of the island. We are told the two pieces of cannon said to be at Bristol, have disappeared.

Dec. 21. More snow last night—no danger of gondolas now—more ambassadors gone out to-day to the Hessians—not much to be expected from one of them.—A great deal of talk in the neighborhood about a neutral island; wish with great earnestness it may be allowed—wonder the men in town don't think it worth while to step down here and tell us what they are after—get quite in the fidgets for news—send Dick to town to collect some—he returns quite newsless—good mind to send him back again. W. D.[25] comes at last—tells us all we expected to hear—pleases us by saying we shall have timely notice of their coming—gives a hint that the feeble and defenceless will find safety and protection—rank ourselves among the number, having no man with us in the house. Determine not to be unprovided again, let them come or not, as the weather is now so cold provisions will keep good several days. We pity the poor fellows who were obliged to be out last night in the snow. Repeat our wishes that this may be a neutral island—quite sleepy—go to bed and burn a lamp all night—talk as loud as usual, and don't regard the creaking of the door—no gondola men listening about the bank. Before we retired to bed this evening, an attempt was made to teach the children to pronounce *"vecates"*[26] like a Dutchman. Our good

[24] S. D., Sarah Dillwyn, her sister, the wife of George Dillwyn.

[25] W. D., William Dillwyn.

[26] German, Wie geht es? How goes it? How are you?

neighbor a little concerned to think there is not one in the neighborhood that will be able to interpret for us when the Hessians are quartered upon us. At last, by dint of mere conjuration, I discovered that his maid is a Dutch woman, and we resolve, *nem. con.*, that she shall be the interpreter of the bank, and her master thinks it will be a great thing to have one that can speak for us.

Dec. 22. It is said that Putnam with 1000 men are at Mount Holly; all the women removed from the town except one widow of our acquaintance—this evening we hear the sound of much hammering at Bristol,[27] and it is conjectured that a fortification is carrying on there—more cannon said to be planted on the island —we hear this afternoon that the gentlemen who went last night to the Count de Nope with a request that our town might be allowed to remain a neutral one, are returned, and report that he had too many affairs of greater consequence in hand to attend to them, or give an answer. I think we don't like the Count quite so well to-day as we did yesterday. We heard yesterday that General Lee was taken prisoner by a party of light-horse, who surrounded him, and took him to New York (hope privately that he will not escape); to-day (22d) we hear General Howe is at Trenton, and it is thought there will be an engagement soon. A man who was at Mount Holly the other day, tells us he saw a great many of the British troops—that some of them went to the magazine there (a small room over the court-house) and took out about 100 wooden canteens, and the same number of broken firearms, and calling for a guard of 100 men, piled them up in the street, and ordered the men in derision, to take charge of them. This afternoon we hear of our refugee[28] again, and that he has got a protection, as it is called. The rage of tory-hunting a little subsided; we now hear only of the Hessian hunters; but they make a poor hand of it—not one brought in that we know of. We hear this afternoon that our officers are afraid their men will not fight, and wish may all run home again. A peaceable man ventured to prophesy to-day that, if the war is continued through the winter, the British troops will be scared at the sight of our

[27] Bristol was just across the Delaware River, in Pennsylvania.

[28] Dr. Jonathan Odell, who had been concealed in her house.

men, for as they never fought with naked men, the novelty of it will terrify them, and make them retreat faster than they advanced to meet them; for he says, he thinks it probable they will not have clothes to cover them a month or two hence.

Several of the families who left the town on the day of the cannonading are returned to their houses; the intelligence brought in this evening is seriously affecting; a party of our men, about 200, marched out of Mount Holly, and meeting with a party of Hessians near a place called Petticoat Bridge, an engagement ensued—the Hessians retreating rather advancing—a heavy firing of musketry and some cannon heard; we are informed that twenty-one of our men were killed in the engagement, and that they returned at night to their head-quarters at Mount Holly, the Hessians to their at the Black Horse.

Dec. 23. This day twelve gondolas came up the river again, but we know not as yet the occasion of their coming; the troops at Mount Holly went out again to-day and engaged the Hessians near the same place where they met yesterday; it is reported we lost ten men, and that our troops are totally routed and the Hessians in possession of Mount Holly. This evening a little alarm in our neighborhood; a report reaching us that 3000 troops now at Bristol are to cross over in the night (and to land on our bank) in order to join the routed party of yesterday. My dear S. D.'s spirits for the first time forsook her hearing this, and my heart grieved that I could offer nothing to compose her. We conjecture the gondolas are to lie here in readiness to receive our men should they be put to flight—be that as it may, we don't like to see them so near us, and wish for another snow-storm to drive them away.

Dec. 24. The gondolas all gone out of sight; but whether up or down the river we know not. This morning we are told of a fearful alarm which was spread through the town last night; that the gondolas had orders to fire on it in the night, as it was said the Hessians were expected to come in after the rout of yesterday, and take possession here as they had done at Mount Holly; happily, this account did not reach us till it was proved to be false. It seems the commodore had sent one M'Knight on

shore, who informed the inhabitants of it. W. Smith and B. Helm went to Bristol in the evening, and acquainted General Cadwallader with what they had heard, who signified to the commodore the necessity of the removal of the fleet, as the ice would probably make it difficult for them to sail a few days hence. When this was taken to the commodore, he denied having sent the information which so alarmed the inhabitants. It was thought he appeared a little disguised with liquor at the time. We hear the Hessians are still at Holly, and our troops in possession of Church Hill, a little beyond. The account of twenty-one killed the first day of the engagement, and ten the next is not to be depended on, as the Hessians say our men run so fast they had not the opportunity of killing any of them. Several Hessians in town to-day. They went to Daniel Smith's and inquired for several articles in the shop, which they offered to pay for; two were observed to be in liquor in the street; they went to the tavern, and calling for rum ordered the man to charge it to the king. We hear that two houses in the skirts of the town were broke open by the Hessians and pillaged. The gondolas have been lying down at Dunk's Ferry all this day. A pretty heavy firing heard up the river to-day, but no account yet received of the occasion, or where it was.

Dec. 25. An officer said to be gone to Bristol from the Count de Nope with a flag, and offers of letting our town remain a neutral post. General Reed[29] at Philadelphia. An express sent to him; and we hear he is to meet the Count to-morrow, at Jno. Antrim's, and settle the preliminaries.

Dec. 26. Very stormy; we fear General Reed will not meet the Count to-day. A great number of flat-bottomed boats gone up the river; we cannot learn where they are going to.

Dec. 27. A letter from General Reed to his brother, informing him that Washington with the regulars on the 25th, early in the morning, taking them by surprise; killed 50 and took 900 prisoners.[30] The loss on our side not known, or if known, not suf-

[29] General Joseph Reed of Philadelphia, of whom later.

[30] This was the celebrated surprise of the British at Trenton by Washington, Christmas, 1776.

fered to be public. It seems this heavy loss to the regulars was owing to the prevailing custom among the Hessians of getting drunk on the eve of that great day which brought peace on earth and good-will to men; but oh! how unlike Christians is the manner in which they celebrate it. Can we call ourselves Christians, while we act so contrary to our Master's rules? He set the example which we profess to follow, and here is a recent instance that we only profess it; instead of good-will, envy and hatred seem to be the ruling passions in the breasts of thousands. This evening, the 27th, about 3000 of the Pennsylvania militia and other troops landed in the neck, and marched into town with artillery, baggage, &c., and are quartered on the inhabitants. One company was lodged at J. V.'s,[31] and a guard placed between his house and ours. We were so favored as not to have any sent to our house. An officer spent the evening with us, and appeared to be in high spirits, and talked of engaging the English as a very trifling affair—nothing so easy as to drive them over the North River, &c.—not considering there is a God of battle, as well as a God of Peace, who may have given them the late advantage in order to draw them out to meet the chastisement that is reserved for them.

Dec. 28. Early this morning the troops marched out of town in high spirits. A flight of snow this morning drove the gondolas again down the river. My heart sinks when I think of the numbers unprepared for death, who will probably be sent in a few days to appear before the Judge of heaven. The weather clearing up this afternoon, we observed several boats, with soldiers and their baggage, making up to our wharf; as I looked at them I thought I saw a face that was not strange to me, and taking a nearer view, found it was the well-known face of my beloved brother and friend, G. D.[32] When I saw the companions he was among, I thought of what Solomon said of his beloved, that she was like an apple tree amongst the trees of the wood. When he came into the house, my kindred heart bade him wel-

[31] James Verree.

[32] George Dillwyn, who was the husband of her sister Sarah with whom she was making her home.

come to the hospitable roof—for so must I ever deem that roof which has sheltered me and my little flock—though our joy at meeting him was checked by the prospect before us and around. A man, who seemed to have command over the soldiers just landed, civilly asked for the keys of Colonel Cox's house, in which they stowed their baggage, and took up their quarters for the night, and were very quiet.

Dec. 29. This morning the soldiers at the next house prepared to depart, and, as they passed my door, they stopped to bless and thank me for the food I sent them which I received, not as my due, but as belonging to my *Master* who had reached a morsel to them by my hand.[33] A great number of soldiers in town to-day; another took possession of the next house when the first left it. The inhabitants much straightened for bread to supply the soldiers, and firewood to keep them warm. This seems to be only one of the many calamities of war.

Dec. 30. A number of poor soldiers sick and wounded brought into town to-day, and lodged in the court-house; some of them in private houses. To-day, I hear, several of our townsmen have agreed to procure wood for the soldiers; but they found it was attended with considerable difficulty, as most of the wagons usually employed to bring in wood were pressed to take the soldiers' Baggage.

Dec. 31. We have been told of an engagement between the two armies, in which it was said the English had 400 taken pris-

[33] An interesting confirmation of these statements is found in the "Journal of Sergeant William Young" published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. viii, 259, 260), as follows: "*Saturday* 28 got all over. Baggage in the wagon Marched to Bristol then loaded it aboard a flat bottomed Boat, and with much Difficulty got over on account of the Ice and by the good providence of God, got in the Colonel house before dark. As soon as we got our Baggage housed set about foraging for wood, got some pretty Readily made a good fire. Got supper went to sleep.

Sunday Morning (29) got up pretty Early, went about breakfast, all well. . . . I Expect to set out this morning to join our company; the good woman next Door Sent us 2 Mince pies Last Night, which I took very kind. May God Bless all our friends and benefactors."

oners and 300 killed and wounded. The report of the evening contradicts the above intelligence, and there is no certain account of a battle.

Jan. 1, 1776. This New Year's Day has not been ushered in with the usual rejoicings, etc., and I believe it will be the beginning of a sorrowful year to very many people. Yet the flatterer, hope, bids me look forward with confidence to Him who can bring out of this confusion the greatest order. I do not hear that any messengers have been in town from the camp.

Jan. 3. This morning we heard very distinctly a heavy firing of cannon; the sound came from about Trenton, and at noon a number of soldiers, upwards of one thousand, came into town in great confusion, with baggage and some cannon. From these soldiers we learn there was a smart engagement yesterday at Trenton, and that they left them engaged near Trenton mill, but were not able to say which side was victorious. They were again quartered on the inhabitants, and we again exempt from the cumber of having them lodged in our house. Several of those who lodged in Colonel Cox's house last week returned to-night and asked for the key, which I gave them. About bed-time, I went into the next house to see if the fires were safe, and my heart was melted to see such a number of my fellow-creatures lying like swine on the floor, fast asleep, and many of them without even a blanket to cover them. It seems very strange to me, that such a number should be allowed to come from the camp at the very time of the engagements, and I shrewdly suspect they have run away, for they can give no account why they came or where they are to march next.

Jan. 4. The accounts hourly coming in are so contradictory and various, that we know not which to give credit to. We have heard our people have gained another victory; that the English are fleeing before them, some at Brunswick, some at Princeton. We hear to-day that Sharp Delany and A. Morris, and others of the Pennsylvania militia are killed, and that the Count de Nope is numbered with the dead; if so, the Hessians have lost a brave and humane commander. The prisoners taken by our troops are

sent to Lancaster jail. A number of sick and wounded brought into town, calls upon us to extend a hand of charity towards them. Several of *my* soldiers left the next house, and returned to the place whence they came. Upon my questioning them pretty close, I brought several to confess they had run away, being scared at the heavy firing on the 3rd. There were several pretty, innocent-looking lads among them, and I sympathized with their mothers, when I saw them preparing to return to the army.

Jan. 5. I heard to-day that Capt. Shippen, who threatened to shoot my son for spying at the gondolas, is killed. I forgave him, long ago, for the fright he occasioned me, and felt sorry when I heard he was dead. We are told to-day that Gen. Mercer[34] is killed, and Mifflin is wounded; what sad havoc will this dreadful war make in our land!

Jan. 6. We are told to-day that 2000 New England men fell in the late engagement.

Jan. 7. This evening all the gondolas which have been for several days past lying before Bristol sailed down the river except one, which is stationed there for the winter I suppose; an order arrived about five this evening for the remainder of the soldiers to march; they hurried away, but returned in less than an hour, the officers thinking it too late for them to reach Bordentown to-night.

Jan. 8. All the soldiers gone from the next house; only one of the number stopped to bid me farewell; but I did not resent it, remembering that only one of the ten lepers, cleansed by our Lord, returned to give thanks; not that I would compare the trifling services I was enabled to render these poor creatures to that great miracle; but it rose in my mind at the time, perhaps as a check to any little resentment that I might have felt for being neglected. I went into the house after they had left it, and was grieved to see such loads of provisions wastefully lying on the floor. I sent my son to desire an officer in town to order it away, and he returned his compliments, and desired me "to keep it from spoiling"—that was, to make use of it; but as it was not

[34] General Hugh Mercer; General Thomas Mifflin.

his to give, and I had no stomach to keep it from spoiling, I sent it to another person, who had it taken to the sick soldiers.

Jan. 9. We hear to-day that our troops have driven the English to Brunswick, and some say there has been another battle. All the officers went out of town to-day. The report of poor A. Morris being killed is confirmed by an officer who was in the battle. I feel sorry for every one that falls in battle. We hear that Washington has sent to buy up a number of stores, from which it is concluded he is going into winter quarters. The weather very cold; some snow falling has also filled the river with ice, and we expect it will be strong enough to walk over in a day or two, and give an opportunity, to those inclined to escape, of crossing over, which, for several weeks past, has been attended with some difficulty; all the boats belonging to the town being seized upon by the gentlemen of the galleys, and either borne away, or broken to pieces, which they said was done to prevent the Hessians from crossing the river; and, on the same pretence, a number of bridges have been taken up, and others so much damaged as to make it difficult for travellers to pass from hence to Philadelphia. Several of the soldiers, who were brought to town sick, have died, and it is feared the disorder by which they were afflicted is infectious.

Jan. 11. Weather very cold and the river quite shut. I pity the poor soldiers now on their march, many of whom will probably lay out in the fields this cold night. What cause have I for gratitude, that I and my household are sheltered from the storm! Oh, that the hearts of my offspring may learn to trust in the God of their *mother*. He who has condescended to preserve us in great danger, and kept our feet from wandering from the habitation his goodness has allotted to us.

(*To be concluded.*)

ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO JOHN G. WHITTIER, 1860, BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

Friend Whittier lives about four miles from the mill, across the river. The bridge was being repaired, which made it necessary to go a long way round. I was not sorry, for the scenery was lovely. We rode along the Merrimack nearly all the way. The sunshine was rippling it with gold, and the oars of various little boats and rafts were dropping silver as they went. I think nature never made such a vivid impression on me as it has this summer. I don't know whether it is because I have so very few human ties, or whether it is that I feel a sort of farewell tenderness for the earth, because I am growing old.

Friend Whittier's gentle Quakerly sister seemed delighted to see me, or, rather he seemed delighted and she seemed pleased. There was a Republican meeting that evening, at which he felt obliged to show himself; but he came back before long, having indiscreetly excused himself by stating that I was at his house. The result was, that a posse of Republicans came, after the meeting was over, to look at the woman "who fired hot shot at Governor Wise." In the interim, however, I had some cosy chat with Friend Whittier, and it was right pleasant going over our anti-slavery reminiscences. Oh, those were glorious times! working shoulder to shoulder, in such a glow of faith!—too eager working for humanity to care a fig whether our helpers were priests or infidels. That's the service that is pleasing in the sight of God.

Whittier made piteous complaints of time wasted and strength exhausted by the numerous loafers who came to see him out of idle curiosity, or to put up with him to save a penny. I was amused to hear his sister describe some of these irruptions in her slow, Quakerly fashion. "Thee has no idea," said she, "how much time Greenleaf spends in trying to lose these people in the streets. Sometimes he comes home and says, 'Well, sister, I had hard work to lose him, but I have lost him.'" "But I can never lose a *her*," said Whittier. "The women are more pertinacious than the men; don't thee find 'em so, Maria?" I told him I did.

"How does thee manage to get time to do anything?" said he. I told him I took care to live away from the railroad, and kept a bull-dog and a pitch-fork, and advised him to do the same. (*Letters of Lydia Maria Child,* Boston, 1883, pp. 141, 142.)

CORRECTION.

Our friend, Norman Penney, of the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, has kindly sent several corrections to be made in the paper "A Seventeenth Century Request for a Meeting" which appeared in the last number of the BULLETIN (Vol. IX, no. 1, pages 14–16). They are as follows: The date should be $\frac{22}{2\text{mo}}$ 1700. Lines 1, 2, 3 of the Letter should read, ". . . It being a desire of severall Friends in these parts to have a first day Meeting In the Parish of South Mims (on y^e^ same day that Winsmerhill [Winchmore Hill] Meeting is) established amongst us," etc. (p. 16). The last two lines of the first paragraph in the Letter should read, "And assist us with your consents in y^e^ re-establishing us in our former Priviledge." The last line but one of the Letter should read, "And with the consent of severall others." The original manuscript is No. 59, Vol. III. Gibson Mss. Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends, Chapters in Eighteenth Century Life. By R. Hingston Fox, M.D. London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1919. 5½ × 9 in. Pp. xxiv, 434. Illustrations. 21s. net, $7.50, postage 30 cents.

This long expected work has been well worth waiting for. Dr. Fox is to be congratulated on his success from every point of view. The book is scholarly, most carefully written from original and printed sources, no time or trouble has been spared in searching after authorities in both Great Britain and America, and care and diligence are apparent on every page, the literary style is good and the book is interesting. The subject and the author both being medical men, it must have been no easy matter to produce a work attractive both to the general reader and to the pro-

fessional man. So far as a non-medical man can judge, Dr. Fox has been remarkably successful, for while there are portions which will appeal only to the physician, they are few and purely technical language is unfrequent.

It was quite time that a life written on modern lines should be presented to the world, for except in the brief notices in encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries, no life of Fothergill has been published for more than a century. The greatest physician of his day in London, his fees amounting to about £5,000 per annum and sometimes more, consulted by persons of all ranks, the introducer of commonsense methods in practice and treatment of diseases, the real forerunner of modern treatment, he deserves more recognition than he has received in later years. Dr. Fothergill was not only a physician but a botanist who introduced many new plants and trees into Great Britain, he was one of England's chief philanthropists, an earnest forwarder of education, the founder of Ackworth School, a social reformer, a man interested in science of every kind, one of the first to bring electricity into prominence before scientific bodies, a firm believer in hygiene and careful diet, and in fact a promoter of almost everything that tends to increase the welfare and comfort of society. He counted Franklin, Priestley, Collinson, the Bartrams, the Logans, Pembertons and other well-known men among his intimate friends. He was the warm friend of America and exerted his great influence on her behalf whenever possible. He was really one of the founders and for a long time one of the greatest benefactors of the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was a staunch Friend, a member of the Meeting for Sufferings when but twenty-nine, and was Clerk of London Yearly Meeting three times.

All these phases of this remarkable man are well brought out in the biography before us. Dr. Fox has we believe chosen wisely in presenting not a chronological life but a picture of Fothergill as revealed under different aspects.

The book appears to be remarkably free from slips and errors; the statement, however, that John Dickinson was a "birthright Friend" (page 340) is not borne out by evidence. Isaac Sharpless in his sketch of John Dickinson ("Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania," page 224) says there is no evidence in the records, or even elsewhere that he ever was a member.

It is a matter of regret that owing to the great cost of publication in these days the price of the volume can hardly help restricting the sale.

Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity, A Popular Exposition. By Rendel Harris. Manchester, at the University Press, Longmans, Green & Co., London, etc., 1919. 6 × 9 in. Pp. 41. $1.00.

The title of this characteristic monograph does not convey to the ordinary mind quite the meaning intended. It is not a theological treatise, but a presentation of the arguments for the existence of a lost book of the

early Christian Church and what that set forth. This, our author tells us, was a book of *Testimonies*, being quotations from the Old Testament which show the "existence of a lost Christian doctrine of the first century, according to which Jesus was defined as the "Wisdom of God." All New Testament scholars have long been aware that there is a period of time between the earliest years of Christianity and the date of the oldest book of the New Testament (1 Thess. about A.D. 50). "When . . . we reflect," says the author, "that the period which elapses between the death of Christ and the first known Christian document covers a whole human generation, it must be clear to any thoughtful person that such a generation could not have passed away without written records of the history which they were relating, and the truths that they were emphasizing."[1] As there was then no New Testament, argument was based on the Old Testament when addressed to Jews, and it was addressed to them first in the earlier years as we know. The passages relied upon were those relating to *Wisdom*, particularly the splendid one in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. The identification of Christ with Wisdom is the basis of His being one with the Father, not, as might be supposed, the Messianic prophecies. This view is indicated in the New Testament in several places, as where Paul speaks of "Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God," also in Colossians (chaps. 1 and 2). One of these treatises Dr. Harris believes he has discovered, or a form of it, in the library on Mount Athos, an edition of which is now in preparation. It will be read with interest when it appears. Dr. Harris, with his keen sense of possibilities, suggests that here may be found the origin of the name of one of the finest churches in the world, the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Why such a magnificent building should have been dedicated to a rather obscure saint or to "Holy Wisdom," has always been rather a puzzle. It is known that the present structure was erected on the site of an earlier one bearing the same name, and when it is found that at that time "Holy Wisdom" was an alternative term for Christ Himself the puzzle is solved.

The Tryal of William Penn & William Mead for Causing a Tumult. . . . 1670. . . . First published in 1719 and edited by Don C. Seitz. Boston, Marshall Jones Co., MDCCCCXIX. 5½ × 8 in. Pp. xvii, 37. $1.00.

This small volume is a reprint of the famous trial of William Penn and William Mead, 1670, in which the independence of juries was established in England. The editor also gives an extract from the almost equally famous

[1] Two reasons for the loss of such treatises are: (1) the books were written on papyrus, a very fragile material and quickly perishable except in a climate like that of Egypt, and (2) when the books of the New Testament appeared the earlier books, based on the Old Testament, were discarded, and besides were not convincing to Gentiles.

trial in America, New York, 1735, of John Peter Zenger, in which the freedom of the press was established. The part quoted is from the address of Andrew Hamilton in which he cites the trial of Penn and Mead. The account of the "Tryal" itself is not only interesting but amusing. Though the accounts in the various Lives of Penn give all that is essential, the whole report in the quaint language of the original is well worth attention. The editing consists, with the exception of the quotation from the Zenger trial, of a "foreword" which is a very brief account of William Penn and of his father, the admiral. The editor is at present the managing editor of the *New York World*. The volume is handsomely printed and made up.

The Style and Literary Method of Luke and Acts. By Henry J. Cadbury. Harvard Theological Studies, VI. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919. 6¼ × 9¼ in. Pp. viii, 72.

This is a highly creditable technical study of the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts. It relates only to questions of style and method, and is intended for students of Textual Criticism. To the ordinary reader a large part would be Greek indeed. A section more generally interesting than some of the others is that devoted to the "Alleged Medical Language of Luke." Of the thirty pages allotted to this subject part of the conclusion may be quoted: "The style of Luke bears no more evidence of medical training than does the language of other writers who were not physicians. This result, it must be confessed, is a purely negative one. . . . Of course the absence of medical traits does not prove that a doctor did not write Luke and Acts. In other words, the only reason we have for supposing that the author was a physician is the old one—the statement in Coloss. 4, 14, 'Luke, the beloved physician.'"

London Yearly Meeting During 250 Years. London, Society of Friends, Devonshire House, 136 Bishopgate, E.C., 2, 1919. 5½ × 8¾ in. Pp. 157. 5s. 6d., $2.50.

This attractive anniversary volume is a coöperative work. Robert H. Marsh contributes the "Introductory Address"; William C. Braithwaite, "First Period, 1668 to 1725"; A. Neave Brayshaw, "Second Period, 1725 to 1825"; Edward Grubb, "Third Period, 1825 to 1918"; Mary Jane Godlee, "The Women's Yearly Meeting"; and our indefatigable expert in editing, Norman Penney, the "Addenda," by no means the least valuable part. A full index and four illustrations complete this interesting volume. While the greater part of the book naturally is devoted to its special subject, a large amount of other information is given incidentally. A number of common misconceptions are corrected, and it comes out very clearly that Friends of past generations did not differ essentially in characteristics and actions from those of the present day. The sections on the First and

Second Periods exhibit the well-balanced historic sense we have learned to expect in their authors, but which seems to be somewhat wanting in the account of the Third Period.

The history of the Women's Yearly Meeting contains perhaps more absolutely new matter than the other accounts, and is exceedingly well done. It was not till 1896 that women Friends were "recognized as forming a constituent part of our Meetings for Church affairs equally with their brethren and that they should be eligible for appointment as members of the Meeting for Sufferings."[1] "In 1907 the Women's Yearly Meeting, as a separate body, came to an end."

The only error observed is in the Note, page 117: Sarah F. Smiley did not marry "a Baptist minister." She joined the Episcopalians and never married.

The work is a distinct contribution to Quaker history and may be marked with a double star.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Seventh Month, 1919. As usual this periodical contains several articles of much interest. Possibly those on "An Early Chapter in the Life of John Dalton," and the graphic "Return of the Exiles," some incidents on a trip with returning Serbian exiles from Bizerta (Tunis) to Belgrade via sea to Ragusa and train to Belgrade, with the editorial "From the House of the Four Winds," are the most attractive. One of the most significant paragraphs in the latter relates to the effects in Great Britain of the liquor restrictions during the war; only those relating to the direct results of alcohol can be quoted:

	1913	1918
Convictions for drunkenness	188,877	29,019
Cases of delirium tremens in representative areas	786	32
Deaths from alcoholism	1,831	296

These figures show a decline of about 80 per cent.!

Religion as Reality, Life and Power. By Rufus M. Jones. The William Penn Lecture, Philadelphia, Central Bureau Office, 154 N. 15th St., 1919. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 45. Paper 35 cents, cloth 50 cents.

This is a suggestive, eloquent, elevating address. Here are some sentences from it: "Religion is something that carries one into 'the land of heart's desire!'" "It is something which gives us a view of what ought to be." "Religion is one of the mightiest of all the constructive unifying forces we know. As the word implies, religion binds back the soul into unison with realities which refresh it, restore it, vivify it, and integrate it and complete it; *i.e.,* put it in possession of the whole of itself." "There can be no adequate world here for us without at least a faith in the reality of beyond the line of what we see with our common eyes."

[1] It might be remarked that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) was much later (1915) in taking a similar step.

Silent Worship: The Way of Wonder. The Swarthmore Lecture, 1919, By L. Violet Hodgkin, author of "A Book of Quaker Saints." London, Headley Bros., 1919. 5 × 7¼ in. Pp. 95. 1s 6d, $0.65.

This, the twelfth Swarthmore Lecture, stands worthily beside its predecessors. The author is the daughter of Thomas Hodgkin, the historian, who gave the lecture in 1911, and the cousin of Henry T. Hodgkin who gave the lecture in 1916. Those who enjoyed the delightful "Book of Quaker Saints" will find the same charming style in this little book. To those who know what a "living silence" is, we commend this treatise; to those who have not that knowledge, we alike commend it, that they may, perchance, gain a vision of new possibilities in worship.

As A Man Thinketh, The Personal Problem of Miltarism. By Ernest Ewart Unwin, with Foreword by J. Lewis Paton. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1919. 5 × 7½ in. Pp. 120. 2s 6d.

This little book by a master in Leighton Park School, Reading, England, is a strong presentment of the subject of militarism and what militarism involves. "The choice is between a material and a spiritual conception of life." "I approach the whole question as a biologist, as a schoolmaster, and as a Quaker." "Every one of us, every man and every woman, every boy and every girl has to face these things as an individual problem, for it is, in reality, a difference in our conception of God and of His ways for men which drives us forth along the pathway of peace or along the pathway of war." These sentences from the Preface will give a good idea of the basis of the book. It is written in no sectarian spirit, and the author has strengthened his position by referring, with but two or three exceptions, to non-Quaker works.

The Religion of Experience. An Examination of some of the Difficulties of the Christian Faith. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London, Headley Bros., 1919. 4¾ × 7 in. Pp. 198.

This volume, by an author well known among Friends, is largely a reproduction either in form or substance of lectures and papers given or published at various times. Naturally there is some lack of continuity, and some repetition, but not enough to be prominent. The author takes up chiefly the intellectual difficulties and handles them well. As the title of the book indicates, his argument rests on the fact of personal, inward experience: "if we are to understand and appreciate these doctrines or even criticize them to any purpose, we must ourselves come into the place of experience." "What is this experience. . . .? It includes everything in human consciousness which has to do with an awareness of relations with that Unseen Presence which is called God." Parts of the book re-

quire close thought and all of it careful attention. Some readers may think the author's views are occasionally too "modern," others that scarcely enough weight is given to the historical side; but in matters about which there is so great variety of opinion *any* presentment will be questioned by some. An Index would have been an advantage to the book.

Joseph Sturge, His Life and Work. By Stephen Hobhouse. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1919. 4¾ × 7½ in. Pp. x, 196. 4s 6d.

This brief biography of Joseph Sturge by Stephen Hobhouse should be welcomed. The valuable, though bulky Life by Henry Richard has long been out of print, and to the present generation Joseph Sturge is little more than a name. As the writer of this notice a few years since stood before Sturge's statue in one of the busiest parts of Birmingham, he wondered how many of the hundreds that passed by while he looked on the fine memorial, knew why their former citizen had been thus honored.

Our friend Stephen Hobhouse, so well known to us through his severe experiences as a Conscientious Objector in Great Britain, is Sturge's fit biographer. A reformer himself, he has great sympathy with his subject and presents him in a lively and attractive manner. The work, while highly appreciative, is by no means a panegyric, for the shortcomings of his hero are carefully pointed out. The well-drawn portrait is that of a whole-souled, indefatigable man, "perpetually engaged in practical activity" for the benefit of others. He was zealous in the Anti-Slavery cause; in political reform; in Temperance; in Education; in Free Trade; and was a "Quaker Chartist." He was a pioneer in the Peace movement, and while not the founder of the Adult School movement, he was a personal, earnest promotor of it, and was, perhaps as much as anyone, the man who made Birmingham the great center of that work. He was one of the earliest advocates of children's play-grounds, and to illustrate and enforce his opinions he himself leased a field near his own residence which he opened as a place of recreation for children (1853); he, in conjunction with a brother, started and supported a reformatory school for boys which is still in existence. Such were some of the activities of this remarkable man, whom Stephen Hobhouse is to be congratulated for recalling to our view.

Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania. By Isaac Sharpless. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. 5½ × 8 in. Pp. ix, 248. $2.50.

These papers on eight prominent leaders of colonial Pennsylvania, William Penn, Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, James Logan, John Kinsey, Isaac Norris, James Pemberton, and John Dickinson, are written in the author's well known manner and give much information, not only of the men themselves, but of the politics of their day. All were Friends except John Dickinson, and he has often been claimed as one. Two of the essays

appeared first in the BULLETIN—those on David Lloyd and John Kinsey. The Introduction, which discusses the attitude of Friends towards Public Affairs and Moral Reforms, is especially valuable. This essay and the biographies themselves show that in the membership of those days there were two classes—those who were Friends through and through, like James Pemberton; and those prominent in the State but not in the Friends' Meetings, and in fact little more than nominal Friends, like David Lloyd.

For freshness and as a good example of impartial treatment, the essay on John Dickinson would perhaps come first. It is sufficient to say that no student of early Pennsylvania history can afford to miss this book. No one but a Friend could possibly have given such an understanding and truthful picture.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Saturday Westminster Gazette (London) of August 9, 1919, has a very commendatory notice of Professor Augustus T. Murray's translation of Homer's Odyssey recently published in the Loeb Classical Library. "They [the readers] must ascribe to Professor Murray not only great bravery, but a degree of scholarship in both Greek and English, and a fine sense of values, that will make them anxious to see the conclusion of this translation."

The Annual Excursion of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia this year (1919) was to Byberry Meeting House and its neighborhood. It took place 6 month 7, and was well attended. A full account of the excursion by Watson W. Dewees appeared in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for 7 month 31, and 8 month 7. In this account will be found an interesting notice of John Comly, who was the author of the old Spelling Book, so well known to those of the older generation, and who was also prominent in the Separation of 1828.

ANECDOTE OF JOSEPH STURGE.—"He [Lord Brougham], told me [Cobden] of Sturge coming to him to arraign the conduct of the masters in the West Indies for oppressing their apprentices:[1] how he Brougham laughed at him, deriding him in this fashion for proposing to abolish apprenticeship: 'Why, Joseph Sturge, how can you be such an old woman as to dream that you can revive the Anti-Slavery agitation to put an end to the apprenticeship?'—how the quiet Quaker met him with this reply: 'Lord Brougham, if when Lord Chancellor thou hadst a ward in chancery who was apprenticed, and his master was

[1] These were former negro slaves.

violating the terms of indenture, what wouldst thou do?'—how he felt this home thrust, and replied, 'Why, I should require good proof of the fact, Joseph Sturge, before I did anything': how our friend rejoined, 'Then I must supply thee with the proof': how he packed his portmanteau and quietly embarked for the West Indies, made a tour of the islands, collected the necessary evidence of the oppression that was practiced on the negro apprentices by their masters, the planters: how he returned to England, and commenced an agitation throughout the country . . . and attained his object." (See S. Hobhouse, "Joseph Sturge," p. 44; J. A. Hobson, "Richard Cobden," p. 316.)

[In this visit Joseph Sturge was accompanied by Thomas Harvey. The account, "The West Indies in 1837," was published, went through several editions and had great influence in bringing about the desired legislation. The book doubtless will be found in our libraries. Editor.]

South African Friends.—The "Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Meeting of the Society of Friends in South Africa held in Johannesburg, 17–21 April, 1919," is an interesting pamphlet. From it we learn that the organization consists of a "General Meeting Executive" of ten members (this one of nine men and one woman), and two Monthly Meetings, "Cape," held at Capetown, and "Transvaal" held at Johannesburg. The subjects which seemed to claim most consideration in the meeting were "social reconstruction," and "the position of the Native races of South Africa in our social system." About forty attended the Meeting. The Friends of South Africa evidently have some extremely difficult problems before them.

Early History of Ohio Yearly Meeting.—Our friend Watson W. Dewees has reprinted his papers on the "Early History of Ohio Yearly Meeting," which appeared recently in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), and, with some additions and corrections, has issued them in pamphlet form. In addition to the history of the Yearly Meeting proper, there is an account of the old Mount Pleasant School, from its beginning in 1837 to its close in 1875. The book of 51 pages may be had from Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia.

"Historical Portraits."—In what is known as the series of "Historical Portraits," edited by C. R. L. Fletcher and published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, two Friends appear in volumes 3 and 4 (1919), William Penn and Elizabeth Fry. The portrait of Penn is taken from the ivory medallion bust by Silvanus Bevan, probably as accurate as any but not very satisfactory. The notice of Penn by Fletcher, a great militarist, naturally shows little sympathy or comprehension of Penn's

religious side. There are two or three positive errors in the account and the general effect, while grudgingly commendatory, is misleading to those who do not know the facts.

The portrait of Elizabeth Fry is from that in the National Gallery which is not as attractive as that by Richmond. The very brief notice is appreciative, but the inference contained in it, "It seems probable that her married life was not of the happiest," is gratuitous.

"Elizabeth Fry—Quaker Reformer."—"Elizabeth Fry—Quaker Reformer," by Henry M. Thomas, 8vo, 25 pages. This monograph, first read before the Johns Hopkins Historical Society, and then printed in *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* for March, 1919, is a careful study of Elizabeth Fry from a new point of view—that of a skilled specialist, the Professor of Neurology in the Johns Hopkins Medical School. It is one of those side studies which not a few of the medical profession have indulged in: witness, Dr. John Fothergill, and in our own day, Dr. William Osler and Dr. Richard C. Cabot. This paper is warmly sympathetic and throws much light on its distinguished subject. Until her reforming activities are thus brought together, one could hardly realize how wide were her interests or how valuable were her services. There is an excellent reproduction of Richmond's portrait. It is to be regretted that this study will have a limited circulation.

"Well, I have seen the Princess Daschkaw, and she is well worth seeing. . . . Her behavior is extraordinarily frank and easy. . . . As an instance of her quickness and parts, I must tell you that she went to a Quaker meeting. As she came away, one of the women came up to her and told her she saw she was a foreigner, that she wished her all prosperity, and should be very glad if anything she had seen amongst them that day should contribute to her salvation. The Princess thanked her very civilly and said, '*Madame, je ne scais si la voie de silence n'est point la meilleure façon d'adorer l'Être Supreme.*'" (I do not know whether the way of silence is not the better method of worshipping the Supreme Being.)[1] It is clear that Horace Walpole understood this as a *double entente*. Whether it was so, it is impossible to determine.

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (Toynbee edition), Letter 1326, Nov. 12, 1770.

COMMUNICATION.

[The following communication, though not strictly in accord with the practice of the BULLETIN, is printed from a desire to be fair.

Horace Lippincott misses the whole point of the papers referred to, which was to state that Generals Greene, Mifflin, and Brown were not members of the Society, when in the army. When a man is called a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, he is supposed to belong to one of those bodies; so, when a man is called a Quaker he is understood to belong to the Quaker organization, and no individual interpretation can alter that general understanding. These men were not legally or technically Quakers after their disownment. They professed views and acted contrary to the recognized doctrines of the Quakers and because of this were deprived of membership. Whatever may be thought of the matter, or whatever their individual views on other doctrines may have been, this is the fact, and the Society cannot be held responsible for what they said or did. An organization must have rules and must itself be the judge of their infraction. No organization could exist on any other basis. According to Horace Lippincott anyone has the right to call himself a Quaker, or Presbyterian, or Methodist, or be called so by an admirer, and he thereby become or remain one, despite the judgment of the body he may claim as his, or with which he may have been once connected.

The matter of Thomas Mifflin's disownment is discussed and the "Testimony of Disownment" itself is given in Isaac Sharpless's "Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 135.

The first requisite of a true critic is, to have a reasonable knowledge of the subject criticized, and secondly, to be accurate. Horace Lippincott evidently made no researches regarding the disownment of Thomas Mifflin, and he ignores the testimony of George W. Greene, the grandson of General Greene, regarding his grandfather's disownment. He states two thirds of the Quakers revolted in 1827, when those who have made a careful study say, "a decided minority of the whole body": for instance, Edward Grubb of England ("Separations," p. 42). He apparently is totally unaware of the fact that the question of the right of the individual and of the corporate conscience was faced by George Fox and the Early Friends and decided (Wilkinson and Story Controversy), and that this decision, whether rightly or wrongly, was followed by the Society, and, in essentials, is still in force.

The concluding paragraphs of the communication indicate that Horace Lippincott has not been a reader for the past few years of either English or American Quaker periodicals or such statements would be impossible. In short, his conclusions are drawn from insufficient data and reveal a lamentable lack of knowledge both of past and present Quaker History.

The papers which he speaks of as "unsigned," were unsigned simply from the natural wish, common to all editors, of keeping the editor's name in the background.—Editor.]

My attention has just been called to the unsigned statement in the BULLETIN of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia (Volume VIII, No. 3, p. 108; Volume IX, No. 1, p. 32) concerning Generals Nathaniel Greene, Thomas Mifflin and Jacob Brown. This periodical is edited by Allen C. Thomas of Haverford, Pennsylvania, whom it is, I assume, that challenges my assertion that these patriots were Quakers. He admits that these distinguished citizens were members of the Society of Friends, but

were disowned. He presents no evidence of disownment concerning Thomas Mifflin. As to Nathaniel Greene the Minute of the Monthly Meeting held at Cranston, R. I., 3rd of 9th Month, 1773, is quoted placing Nathaniel and his brother from "under the care of the meeting until they make satisfaction for their misconduct." The "misconduct" is "having been at a place in Connecticut of public resort where they had no proper business."

In the case of Jacob Brown, the most successful Commander in the War of 1812 and later the head of the American Army, New York Monthly Meeting disowned him 4th month 4th, 1804, for marrying out of meeting and acting as commissioner to distribute the funds of a lottery.

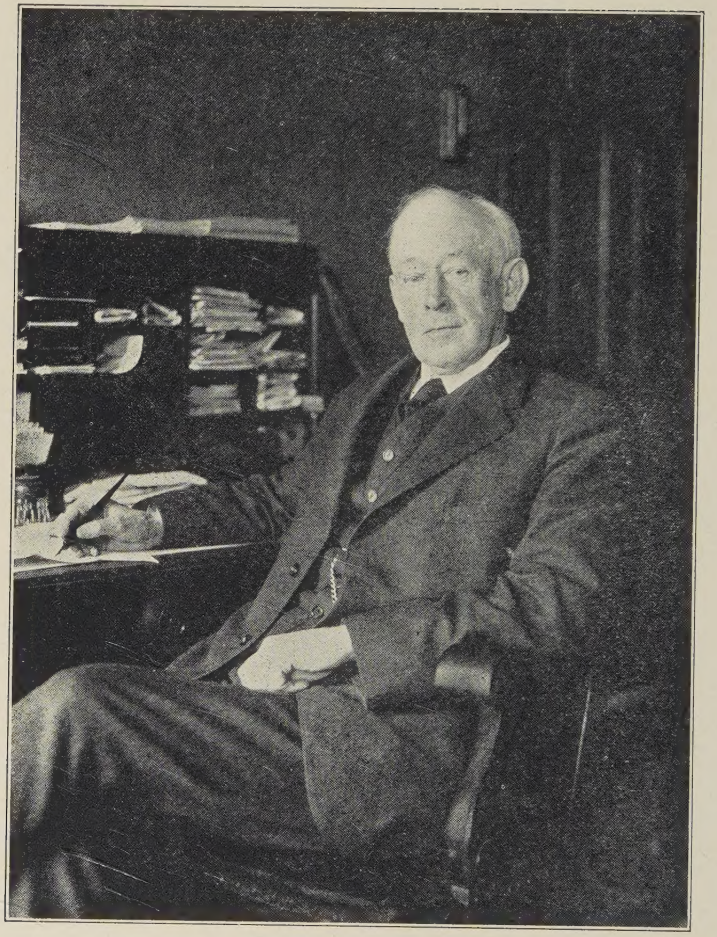
In my "Portraiture of the People Called Quakers" my object was to present a few of the products of Quakerism who had proved distinguished and useful. The technical point of view of the Recorder of the Meeting did not occur to me in this connection nor have I any more sympathy now than my ancestors had in 1827 with the rigid insistence upon the letter of many man-made rules introduced into the Society by small but insistent groups who maintained a zeal for some particular fad. The fundamental principle upon which George Fox founded the Society of Friends was the direct revelation of God to man without the need of any intermediary. The *freedom of the individual conscience* which is the obvious result of this conviction may result in the direct command of our Heavenly Father to act as His hands in the opposition to tyranny and the defense of the weak against cruelty. Therefore unless A. C. Thomas can produce proof that Generals Greene, Mifflin and Brown made any different assertion of belief or joined any other church I still claim that they were Quakers. Considerable familiarity with the history of Friends has convinced me that the small select groups that generally did the disowning were more often less worthy or widely useful than their victims. It was this sort of tyranny and rigidity that caused two thirds of the Quakers to revolt in 1827. All "Hicksites" were accordingly disowned by this minority, but I know of none that would admit that they are not Quakers.

It is a pity to twist technicalities into a rigid exclusion of distinguished and useful Quakers thus giving the public the false impression that we are a cold, ascetic, exclusive sect unable to adequately meet different emergencies by inspired reason. It is more encouraging and inspiring to emphasize the distinguished and useful products of our simple faith and to give them our heartiest support in their helpful work. Thus we may point with pardonable pride to-day to those modern Quakers, Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania, and Herbert C. Hoover, Feeder of the world.

If all the Quakers who did in 1917–18 what Generals Greene, Mifflin and Brown did in their times were disowned the Society of Friends would cease to exist.

HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT.

20, ix, 1919.



Isaac Sharpless